2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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bers and of all transactions and proceedings. The offices of the *subak* leaders are unrewarded, except, as in the case of other societies, for certain privileges such as extra shares of water and a small percentage of the fines collected. Every man who owns ricefields is compelled to join the *subak* and to carry out orders. Members may be allowed to buy off their services, but they must be present when important repairs are made, even though they may pay others to do their share of the work.

Once a month, or oftener if necessary, a general meeting is held in the little temple of the *subak*, a small shrine dedicated to the agricultural deities, built out in the middle of the ricefields. Attendance is compulsory and an absentee who is not properly justified is fined. When the members have gathered, the headman reads the roll, communicates the improvements and repairs to be carried out, reports on the relations of the society with higher officials [1] and with other *subaks*, and accounts for money received in fines and fees as well as what has been spent in materials, offerings, and so forth. Important decisions are reached by majority vote. When all business is settled, the headman adjourns the meeting and an informal social gathering follows in which tobacco, *sirih*, and refreshments are served by appointed attendants. If the *subak* is a prosperous one, there may even be a banquet.

Like other Balinese associations, the spirit of the *subak* is essentially communal; all members abide by the same rules, each one being allotted work in relation to the amount of water he receives. Certain stipulations are made to prevent individuals from holding more land than would be convenient to the community. A man who has more land than he can work is compelled to share the produce with people appointed to help him.

RICE CULTURE

Before any work is done in the ricefields, an expedition composed of the *kliang*, a priest (*pemangku*), and four or five *subak* mem-

[1] The various subaks of a district are under the control of an official, the sedahan, a sort of minister of agriculture, now under a Government salary.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or